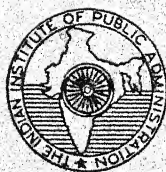


THE DEVELOPMENT AND IMPACT
OF
BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

A Bibliographic Essay

BERNARD S. COHN

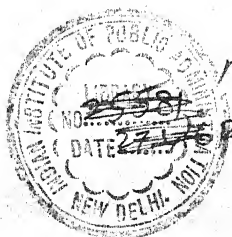


THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
NEW DELHI

THE DEVELOPMENT AND IMPACT
OF BRITISH ADMINISTRATION
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FOREWORD

The administrative system of India since Independence has been dedicated to new purposes and informed by a new spirit. The Constitution of India of 1950 in its preamble has proclaimed its objectives as justice, social, economic and political; liberty of thought, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and opportunity; and fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. Accordingly, in the last decade, many new institutions have been set up, and old ones reformed, and in doing so the aim has been to make the Government serve the many and new interests of the people in a way in which a foreign government could not have attempted. Nevertheless, at the base, some of the major aspects of administration go back to the system as it was organised during the period of the British rule. For instance, the district organisation as it was organised in the 19th century, many of the essentials of present judicial system and the structure of the civil services continue substantially unchanged.

Mr. Cohn's bibliographic essay deals elaborately with the development and impact of the system of British Administration in India. It is a valuable addition to the very scarce literature on the subject. A certain amount of bibliographical material is available in the two volumes of the Cambridge History of India dealing with the British period and in the publications of the National Archives of India; but Mr. Cohn's essay is more comprehensive than

these; and it brings together the material in a compact form; the material is evaluated; and the sources used by Mr. Cohn are listed at the end. As such this is believed to be the first attempt of the kind and the Institute is glad to publish it under its auspices.

V.K.N. MENON

Director

Indian Institute of Public Administration

New Delhi

P R E F A C E

In the fall and winter of 1959 and 1960, the staff of the Indian civilization course at the University of Chicago was engaged in writing and editing a handbook for the use of the students in the course. The major part of this handbook is bibliographic essays covering various aspects of Indian society, culture and history which are to serve as introductions for the students doing term papers as part of their course requirements. As part of this endeavour I wrote a series of essays on 19th and 20th century history in India, one of which, on the administrative impact of the British in India, was thought by the editor of the book, Prof. Myron Weiner, to be too lengthy and detailed for inclusion in an undergraduate manual. Prof. Weiner and others of the staff thought the essay would prove useful, though to more advanced students interested in India and to scholars whose work might require their attaining some familiarity with Indian administration and its development. The following essay is a much expanded version of the original essay, with the inclusion of a full bibliography of the material described and mentioned in the essay.

The original essay drew on research which I have been doing on the relation between social and legal change in upper India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Since I am an anthropologist by profession, this research has required my learning some of the skills and gaining much of the knowledge that a historian or a political scientist concerned with the modern period in Indian history needs. During this research I have been struck by the lack of research aids in the field of modern Indian history, particularly for scholars who are not specialists in the period. The modern period in Indian history is of such great interest, not only to those fully committed to specialized research on India but to scholars in many fields, that I feel the following essay may be of value to a wider audience. The essay, reflecting my

own background and biases, has many shortcomings and purports to be no more than an introduction to a vast, uneven, complex literature.

I am greatly indebted to Professors Myron Weiner and Milton Singer of the University of Chicago, who have read and commented on the original draft of the manuscript. Mr. Eugene Irschick has discussed with me many aspects of the essay and has worked ferreting out the details of many of the references. I have also benefited by Dr. P.C. Gupta's reading of the final draft. Miss Barbara Anderson rendered invaluable editorial and typing assistance. Financial support from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Committee on South Asian Studies of the University of Chicago over the past three years has enabled me to carry on the research and study in this country, England and India, on which the essay draws.

Rochester, New York

BERNARD S. COHN

THE DEVELOPMENT AND IMPACT OF BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

—A Bibliographic Essay

THERE is a vast literature on the history and structure of the British administrative institutions which developed in India from the middle of the eighteenth century. This essay is intended as an introduction to this literature. The subject is an important one from two standpoints. It is important to the professional administrator in India, because the history of the development of the administrative tradition helps explain the functioning of the administrative services in India today. To the scholar it is an important chapter in the relations of two civilizations and is central to the understanding of Indian society today.

“British administration” is defined broadly, because an assessment of its impact on Indian society and culture is a central interest, along with an attempt to show some of the connections and interrelations that are often overlooked in the standard administrative histories. The essay is far from exhaustive, but it is intended to suggest the major works which exist on the subject and to point out what appear to be gaps in our knowledge.

I. SOME AIDS AND GUIDES

- ① STARTING points for work on British administrative institutions are the fifth and sixth volumes of the *Cambridge History of India*. The sixth volume is almost entirely devoted to the history of the administration. Generally the articles are on a high level of accuracy, but they tend to be too closely tied to official history to fully explore the consequences of official actions, and the reader rarely gets much of an idea of how the institutions actually functioned.
- ② The bibliographies found in the fifth and sixth volumes are useful; they give references to published official records and

other types of source material as well as listing the standard secondary works.

Frank Campbell's *Index Catalogue of Indian Official Publications in the Library of the British Museum* is a very useful work. It contains exact references to published source material such as annual administrative reports, gazetteers, parliamentary commissions, and most works published by or for the East India Company or the Secretary of State for India, the government in India, and the provincial governments. It also lists some non-official publications. The bibliography is arranged by region and subject. It contains material published until 1899, when the Catalogue was published. The catalogues of the Calcutta National Library, the India Office Library, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Royal Empire Society Library are all useful. The Parliamentary Papers represent the most readily available body of published source material. P. Ford and G. Ford have published a *Guide to Parliamentary Papers*, a brief introduction to the vast body of material published by and for the House of Commons and the House of Lords; they describe the materials in general and discuss their use. There is an index of the Parliamentary Papers for India covering the period 1801-1907: House of Commons, East India, *Parliamentary Papers Relating to the East Indies* (H. of C. No. 89, 1909, LXIV). Some of the most important materials are found in the Select Committee Reports of 1812, 1831, and 1852, the years of charter renewal for the East India Company. (There have been a number of Royal Commissions which have dealt with the Civil Service, particularly Aitchison (1887), Islington (1917), and Lee (1924).) The bibliographies in the *Cambridge History of India* contain references to other commissions and papers on various aspects of administration in India. The selections from government records which were published during the nineteenth century, both by the Government of India and by the provinces of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, North-West Provinces, and the Punjab, are of great importance for administrative history, because they were published quickly to disseminate local information widely among the

administrators in the provinces and to encourage accurate and full reporting among the administrators. The contents of these selections can be learned in Campbell's *Index Catalogue of Indian Official Publications in the Library of the British Museum*.

- Most of the materials for research on Indian administration are in the India Office Library, the National Archives in New Delhi, and in the Provincial Archives and Record Rooms. Some idea of the scope and nature of these manuscript materials may be found in the indexes and catalogues of these institutions. 4. A.J. Arberry in *The Library of the India Office: a Historical Sketch* gives the background and history of the collections. 5. William Foster in *A Guide to the India Office Records 1600-1858*, lists the major series of records and briefly describes them. 6. S.C. Hill's *Catalogue of the Home Miscellaneous Series of the India Office Records* is a very thorough and careful index of an important series in the India Office which contains a great deal of material relevant to administrative history. There are also catalogues of the India Office's manuscript collections. 7. is a brief guide to the National Archives (published). A very useful series of indexes to the records in the National Archives has been started, but these relate mainly to the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. The periodical *Indian Archives* in the few years of its publication has described many important record and manuscript collections. 8. Volume I of *Indian Archives* has a brief description of the major archives in India in its "News and Notes" section (pp. 45-63). Articles have been published on the Madras Record Office (Vol. VI), the North-West Frontier Province Records (Vol. I), the Central Record Office of Hyderabad (Vol. IV), the Calcutta High Court Records (Vol. II), the Chief Commissioner's Office, Delhi (Vol. III), Khalsa Records (Vol. V), and the West Bengal Secretariat Record Office (Vol. X). Douglas Dewar's *Handbook to the English Pre-Mutiny Records of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, although it was published forty years ago, is still a model of what a provincial record guide should be.

9 Memoirs and travel accounts are mines of information
 about the personalities, policies, and practices of the admin-
 istrators; they are some of the best sources for getting
 insights into how the administration actually functioned,
 as opposed to how it was supposed to function. William
 10 Mathews' *British Autobiographies: An Annotated Bibliography*
 11 lists and briefly indicates the contents of most of the memoirs
 12 and autobiographies written by the British who served in
 13 India. The bibliographies in Holden Furber, *John Company*
 14 *at Work*; C.H. Philips, *The East India Company 1784-1834*;
 15 Percival Spear, *The Nabobs*; and B. B. Misra, *The Central*
 16 *Administration of the East India Company 1773-1834*, all
 have full listings of the travel and memoir literature.
 There is as yet no systematic bibliography of memoirs in
 English or the vernaculars by Indians, but some are covered
 in Dorothy M. Spencer, *Indian Fiction in English*, in which
 some autobiographies are listed, and in Patrick Wilson,
Government and Politics of India and Pakistan 1885-1955;
A Bibliography of Works in Western Languages, which covers
 the more recent period extremely well.

17 There are a number of useful civil and military lists in
 which the careers of officers may be traced: Dodwell and
Miles for Madras, Bengal, and Bombay in the period 1780-
 18 1839, C.C. Prinsep for Madras civilians in the period
 19 1741-1858, and Prinsep and Doss for Bengal civilians. For
 the period after 1861, there is the *Indian Army and Civil*
Service List, and for the period after 1877, the *Civil List*.
 20 *The East India Register and Kalender*, which starts in the
 21 latter part of the eighteenth century, has listings of postings
 and of the regulations guiding appointments and terms of
 service. Unfortunately the listings of postings are not too
 accurate. The *Calcutta Gazette* and the official gazettes
 have complete listings of appointments and transfers.
 22 Biographical materials on administrators can be found in
J. J. Higginbotham, *Men Whom India Has Known*; Holmes
and Co., *Bengal Obituary*; and E. A. H. Blunt, *Christian*
Tombs and Monuments of the United Provinces. The single
 most useful biographical dictionary is C. E. Buckland, *Dic-*
tionary of Indian Biography; although it is heavily weighted

to the British, it does contain some material on Indians as well.

Published regulations and various manuals for administrators also provide a great deal of information on the policy and structure of the administration. Richard Clarke, 23 *The Regulations of the Government of Fort William in Bengal in Force at the End of 1853*, is the most useful of the pre-crown period compilations.

II. GENERAL

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26 THE literature and sources on the administration in India are voluminous; almost any work written on India in the period after 1860 in one way or another deals with the administration. There are three good general histories of the civil service : E. A. H. Blunt, *The I. C. S.*; L. S. S. O'Malley, *The Indian Civil Service*; and Philip Woodruff, *The Men Who Ruled India* (two volumes). All three cover roughly the same field; all three were written as popular books rather than scholarly treatises; all emphasize the personal rather than the institutional; and all three are sound and highly readable. Blunt emphasizes the actual functioning of the civil service during the twentieth century and gives a vivid description of the types of work that officials did. O'Malley's work is more of a history of the development of the services, and Woodruff's was consciously written as a monument and salute to a service and tradition which, although it is continuing in post-Independence India, is rapidly changing. 27 N. C. Roy's *The Civil Service in India*, while it ably discusses the British period of civil service, emphasizes the changes which have taken place in the service since Independence, particularly in relation to recruitment, training, and internal structure.

28 The above-noted four books are a good beginning for a study of the service from the personnel standpoint. There are several good works on broader aspects of the administration which emphasize the system. A recent study by B. B. Misra, *The Central Administration of the East India Company 1773-1834*, discusses the development of the structure of

the administration and the policies which lay behind the structure. It does not, however, convey much of a sense of how the system worked, but its footnotes and its bibliography lead to most of the important works and sources for the period. There are two older works which ably describe the administration under the East India Company: Sir John Kaye, *Administration of the East India Company*, 1853; and Sir George Campbell, *Modern India*, 1854. The Campbell book is fresher and more enlightening; the Kaye volume comes close to being a general history of British India. Peter Auber's *An Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company*, published in 1828, is still an extremely useful work. Auber, who worked in the India Office for almost fifty years, wrote this work as a reference and handbook for officials and owners of the Company. It is arranged like a dictionary in which specific topics about the Company can be looked up. A. K. Ghosal's *Civil Service in India Under the East India Company* is pretty much supplanted by Misra's work, and is too general to be an aid in detailed research. M. Ruthnaswamy, *Some Influences that Made the British Administrative System in India*, is broader than its title indicates and like Kaye's work is almost a history of the East India Company in India, but his chapter on the Mughal background is suggestive.

As can be seen from Eric Stokes' *English Utilitarians and India*, the question of the government of India was not just one which was relegated to professional administrators but, especially in the period down to 1860, was one which was often in the forefront of English home politics and was involved in much of the general political, economic and social thinking of the time. As a result there is an extensive tract literature on questions of the administration, reference to which can be found in Eric Stokes' work, B.B. Misra's work, or in C. H. Philip's, *The East India Company 1784-1834*.

For the administration under the Crown there are many good works. Volume IV of the *Imperial Gazetteer* has a brief but complete description of all aspects of the administration as it was in the beginning of the twentieth century. Ilbert, *The Government of India*, which went through numerous

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editions and revisions, was the standard work both on legislation and on administration until the twenties of this century. Richard Temple, *India in 1880*; George Chesney, *Indian Polity*; John Strachey, *India*; and Joseph Chailley, *Administrative Problems of British India*, all present detailed descriptions of the structure and functioning of the administration in India at the end of the nineteenth century.

The above-noted works stress the structure and theory of the administration. They tend to emphasize what their authors perceived as the "benefits" of British rule : law and order, regularity, concern with general public welfare, impartiality, and the development of well-ordered channels for decision making. They generally give a view of the system from the inside, by those who ran it, and in most instances convey little perception of how the people being administered felt about the administration. These works pay little attention to how the system actually functioned as opposed to how it was supposed to function. For information on these two important aspects of the administration, one must turn to a wider range of materials.

III. THE MUGHAL BACKGROUND

It is often forgotten in the twentieth century that the British in the eighteenth century had little experience in governing a colony such as India. Although by the eighteenth century some of the basic legislative framework of Great Britain had been formed, there was little the British in India could draw on from the home country in the way of administrative experience. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, when they began to develop an administrative system for India, they drew from the only model at hand, the Mughal administrative system.

The Mughal administrative system was a gradual development which reached its fullest development under Akbar (1556-1605), who, drawing heavily on Sher Shah's (1538-45) ideas and innovations, established the basic pattern of administration which the British adopted and of which traces can still be found.

Under the Mughals the northern two-thirds of India were divided into provinces (*subas*), the provinces into districts (*sarkars*), and the districts into subdivisions (*parganas*). At each level there were officers with revenue and judicial functions, sometimes exercising both, and at other times having them combined. The whole terminology of the administration of Northern India is Persian in origin and many of the titles and functions of officers today, especially at the district level and below, continue the Mughal tradition. The British not only borrowed heavily the structure of the system, but to some extent took over the feeling tone of the Mughal administration—a mixture of great pomp and show, and combined benevolent and despotic intervention. The British developed a theory of the welfare state in India long before it was thought of for England, and part of this development was borrowed from the Mughals.

There was almost a two hundred year lag, though, from the high-point of Mughal administrative development until the British began seriously to concern themselves with large-scale Indian administration. It must be realized that, although the British had trading stations in India from the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that they had any large territories to administer or any large Indian population. The trading stations (factories) were run almost along monastic lines until the middle of the eighteenth century. During this two hundred year period the Mughal political domination in India was broken and the actual administration was taken over by regional political units, which administered their realms largely through resident local chieftains or through their relatives, caste or community fellows and followers; there was no civil service in the Mughal or British sense. However, such states as the Marathas took over they maintained some of the trappings of the Mughal administration, so that throughout the northern and central part of India, even under the eighteenth century successor states, there was a shadow of Mughal administrative practice and theory. After some of the British learned Persian and were able to

read the Mughal histories, royal biographies, and administrative records, the Mughal administration became the basis for their own.

The section on administration and government in S.M. Edwardes and H. L. O. Garrett's *Mughal Rule in India* is a convenient and not too technical introduction. It refers to much of the secondary material and the already published British travel accounts which describe aspects of the administration. Sri Ram Sharma, *Mughal Government and Administration*, covers the ground well and relates the administration to wider aspects of the political theory and system of the Mughals. R. S. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, covers much the same ground that Sharma does. Sir Jadunath Sarkar was the world's leading scholar of seventeenth and eighteenth century India. However, his *Mughal Administration*, which has gone through many editions, is somewhat out of date. He relates the British administration to the Mughal administration. The carryover in territorial arrangements from the Mughals to the British is covered in W. M. Day, "Relative Permanence of Former Boundaries in India," *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 65, No. 3, December, 1949; and in John Beame, "On the Geography of India in the Reign of Akbar", Parts I and II, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 53, pp. 215-231, and Vol. 54, pp. 162-182.

Two basic sources which everyone draws on for discussions of the Mughal administration have been translated into English—the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl Allami, translated by Blochman and Jarett, and more recently by Sir Jadunath Sarkar; and Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama*, translated by Henry Beveridge. The standard discussion and analysis of the *Ain-i-Akbari* is by Yusuf Ali and W. H. Moreland in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1918. There is also a detailed discussion of the *Ain* in the appendices to Moreland's *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*.

As is the case with later periods of administrative history, studies of Mughal administration do not enlighten us about how the system functioned, the recruitment of personnel and the relation of the governors to the governed.

P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, comes closest to being a functional study of the administration; it contains case material on the actual functioning of the administration. Sections of W. H. Moreland's *India at the Death of Akbar* and *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, which are basically economic histories, discuss some aspects of the recruitment of the administrators and the importance of the administrators as consumers. W. C. Smith attempts to apply Marxist economic theory to the development of the administration and government under the Mughals in "The Mughal Empire and the Middle Class—A Hypothesis", *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, October, 1944. Saran's work contains an excellent bibliography of Persian sources which have been translated into English.

The Mughal royal court and the courts which grew up around the provincial and local governors set a life style and consumption pattern which have greatly affected the culture of North India down to the present. Rajputs and other land-controlling Hindu groups adopted the language, dress, and many of the customs and values of the Mughals. Unfortunately this important aspect of Indian cultural history has not been touched on, except in H. Goetz's *The Crisis of Indian Civilization in the 18th and Early 19th Centuries* and, in passing, in such works as Percival Spear, *The Twilight of the Mughals*. Abid Husain in "Urban Culture in India" in the UNESCO volume *Traditional Cultures in South East Asia* argues more generally than Goetz does that there was a highly developed Persian-Urdu-Indian culture in the major cities of North and Central India which bound Hindus and Muslims together into one society.

There are several works devoted to Muslim legal institutions and substantive law. By far the most valuable is M. B. Ahmad, *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*. Ahmad combed Persian histories of India and European travel accounts for actual cases of disputes and their settlements. He built his monograph around these cases instead of merely summarizing what was said in the standard Persian histories about law and legal systems.

The book conveys a real feeling of how courts and judicial personnel functioned. Muhammad Akbar's *The Administration of Justice by the Mughals* is more an essay than a full work. W. Husain, *Administration of Justice During the Muslim Rule in India* is another work on the subject.

The major work in English on the Mughal military system is W. Irvine, *The Mughal Army*. This is not a book to be read, but a reference work of the first order, giving the details of the structure, recruitment, tactics, and theory of the Mughal army.

In Western India, Maratha administrative institutions were important in the development of British administration in Bombay and the Deccan. S. N. Sen has written two useful works on the subject: *Administrative System of the Marathas* and *The Military System of the Marathas*. Jadunath Sarkar, in his work *Shivaji*, has a chapter on the administrative institutions. Gune, *The Judicial System of the Marathas*, is a landmark in legal scholarship of the indigenous legal system. It is based on a painstaking search and analysis of case records which have been preserved in some of the archives of Bombay. Most of the work consists of the presentation of these cases in Marathi, but there is a long and useful introduction and discussion of the case material in English. K. A. Ballhatchet's *Social Policy and Social Change in Western India, 1817-1830* describes administrative institutions as the British found them in 1817 and how the British adapted them to their own use. Unfortunately, Ballhatchet largely ignores the social and economic consequences of the change and presents little systematic data.

Some idea of the British view of the Mughal administrative system can be gained from contemporary reports such as James Grant, "Political Survey of the Northern Circars", 1786, pp. 1-117, in Vol. III, W. K. Firminger ed., *The Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company*; and Alexander Dow, "Dissertation on the Origin and Nature of Despotism in Hindostan", pp. lxxi-clxxviii, Vol. I, *The History of Hindostan*. Many of the early European travelers, such as Bernier, Tavenier, Roe, and Manucci, have

left important descriptions of the Mughal courts and administration.

We have far fewer works on South Indian administrative institutions in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries than we have for the Mughal north and for the Marathas. Although Aurangzeb extended his rule over much of South India in the seventeenth century, it is to the older Hindu states of the south and to some of the non-Mughal Muslim states that we must turn for an understanding of the pre-British administrative and political history. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri has done more than anyone to elucidate the history of the South Indian kingdoms. His findings are summarized in his *A History of South India*, which contains some information about administration. T. V. Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, and C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, contain much valuable information. R. Satyanatha Aiyar, *The History of Nayaks of Madura*, has an interesting discussion of the origin of the Poligar system as a means of distributing economic and political power. Colonel Mark Wilks' *Historical Sketches of the South of India* (three volumes) is like many histories written soon after the events described, by eyewitnesses or participants; it shows a keen interest in the functioning of the pre-British administrations and political systems. M. H. Khan, *History of Tipu Sultan*, briefly discusses Mysore administration under Tipu Sultan. B. Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, has a good chapter on administrative history. The Maratha state of Tanjore is discussed in K. R. S. Iyer, *The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*.

On the internal governments of the early European factories there is a wealth of primary source material readily available in the record series published by the India Office and in the Madras Record Series, as well as in many memoirs written by officers of the time. References to this material can be found in the bibliographies in Blunt's and Woodruff's works. Outstanding secondary accounts for western India are the Stracheys' *Keigwin's Rebellion*; H. G. Rawlinson, *British Beginnings in Western India*; and P. B. M. Malabari, *Bombay in the Making*. For Madras there are

H. H. Dodwell, *The Nabobs of Madras*; and Bingham, *Elihu Yale*. Calcutta developed later than Bombay or Madras as a centre for British commercial activity, and there is little on the period before 1750. H. E. Busteed, *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, gives some information, but most of the secondary accounts deal with the period after 1750. Charles Fawcett's *The First Century of British Justice in India* deals mainly with the problem of administering English law to English subjects in the factories, but touches on the vital question of what laws and procedures were to be applied to Indians who resided under the protection of the British at this period.

IV. THE ESTABLISHMENT AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION

ALTHOUGH Clive was the first of the English to plan and to think seriously about the government of the newly acquired territories in Bengal, it was not until Warren Hastings' governor-generalship that there was a clear mandate from both the owners of the East India Company and Parliament for the servants of the Company in India to develop a system of administration. A brief discussion of Clive's attempt to reform the corrupt administration in Bengal can be found in Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive*. The basic ideas and decisions of Hastings with regard to the administration are discussed in E. Monckton-Jones, *Hastings in Bengal 1772-1774*. Conditions in Bengal at that time are covered in W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*. Many of the important early documents regarding Hastings' governor-generalship are found in G. W. Forrest, *Selections from the State Papers of the Governors-General of India: Warren Hastings (2 Volumes)*. Reference should be made to the biographies of Clive and Hastings for additional materials on the beginnings of the administrative system. The most recent biography of Clive is A.M. Davies, *Clive of Plassey*; this is a readable study produced for a non-scholarly audience. G. W. Forrest, *The Life of Lord Clive*, is the standard work on Clive. John Malcolm, *The Life of Robert, Lord Clive*, and G. R. Gleig, *The Life of Robert,*

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First Lord Clive, are the older works on the subject. There are two fairly recent biographies of Hastings : K. G. Feiling, Warren Hastings, and A. M. Davies, Strange Destiny. I think Davies' work is more readable. G. R. Gleig, Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings, is an older work on Hastings.

Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General from 1786 to 1793, was sent by the owners of the East India Company to put the administration on a systematic and uncorruptible footing. The basic decisions which Cornwallis made shaped the administration well into the 1830's. Even though by 1813 there was a strong body of opinion against the Cornwallis system, as evidenced by the Fifth Report, it continued to dominate the administration in the Bengal Presidency until the time of Lord William Bentinck. Cornwallis brought to India the English Whig philosophy of government.

83 "It had as its central belief the Whig conviction that political power is essentially corrupting and inevitably abused; that power, to be exercised with safety, must be reduced to a minimum and even then kept divided and counterbalanced. Cornwallis sought to reduce the function of government to the bare task of ensuring the security of person and property." (Stokes, The English Utilitarians and India, p. 5.)

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56 Although Cornwallis was concerned with raising the standards of honesty among British officials in India, he felt the administration should be above men, and that it could and should be embodied in a code of regulations which could be applied irrespective of who was administering it. Cornwallis' name is closely linked with the idea that Indians, through inherent dishonesty and slothfulness, were incapable of being administrators. He established that except for the lowest ranks officers were to be British. There is an excellent monograph on Cornwallis' administration by A. Aspinall: Cornwallis in Bengal. Forrest has collected and published the major official documents of Cornwallis' governor-generalship and Ross has edited Cornwallis' private correspondence. Thus the reader has available to him some of the basic source material on

Cornwallis in published form. The basic criticisms of Cornwallis' system can be found in the Fifth Report of 1812.

The working of the Bengal system at the level of the governor general can be followed in Teignmouth, Life of John Shore (Cornwallis' successor); some of the papers in J. W. Kaye, Life and Correspondence of Henry St. George Tucker; and the early sections of Henry Morris, Life of Charles Grant. There are a number of regional studies of the beginnings of the British administration which can be consulted : J. Reginald Hand, Early English Administration of Bihar 1781-1785; Toynbee, A Sketch of the Administration of the Hooghly District 1795-1845; and E. G. Drake-Brockman, Notes on Early Judicial Administration of the District of Midnapore, for Bengal and Bihar. In addition, the historical sections of the district gazetteers and settlement reports can be consulted.

For Upper India, Dharma Bhanu, History and Administration of the North-Western Provinces, has a chapter on the earliest period of British administration and covers the attempt of the British to extend the Bengal system into Upper India.

Spear, The Nabobs; Holden Furber, John Company at Work; and Spear, The Twilight of the Mughals; contain a good deal of material on the British at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. All three books have excellent bibliographies. William Hunter, The Thackerays in India, is a not too accurate history of a family that was important both in Bengal and in Madras during the period. Some of Hunter's inaccuracies are corrected by Gordon N. Ray in Thackeray : The Uses of Adversity.

Until the time of Thomas Munro, there are few monographic studies on South India and the administration which was developing there. The historical sections of the Madras Manual of Administration and portions of some of the district handbooks such as Morris, The Godavari District; and J. W. B. Dykes, Salem, an Indian Collectorate; are useful.

The bibliographies found in Spear, *The Nabobs*; and Furber, *John Company at Work*; have excellent listings of memoirs and travel accounts of this period which contain material on the working of the administration. Hickey's Memoirs are excellent on late eighteenth century Bengal. Lord Valentia's Travels gives an overall picture of British India at this time.

Some of the *esprit de corps* which characterized British administrators in India in the middle of the nineteenth century owed its inception to Wellesley (Governor General 1798-1805). He was the first of the governors-general to give concerted attention to the problem of training civil servants and to recognize that the men who ruled India were no longer merchants, but proconsuls. In addition to establishing the college at Fort William—and by this means forcing the court of directors to establish a college at Haileybury for the training of civilians and one at Addescombe for the training of Company military officers—he recognized the worth and aided the careers of some of the greatest administrators in India. Malcolm, Metcalfe, Elphinstone, and Munro either came to prominence under Wellesley or were given their first chance to achieve greatness under him.

There is an excellent study of Wellesley's administration by P. E. Roberts : India under Wellesley. The basic official documents can be found in the five volumes of Wellesley Despatches, and in Sidney Owen ed., Selections from Wellesley's Despatches.

There is little on the college at Fort William other than Thomas Roebuck's Annals of the College of Fort William, which gives the important official papers, the establishment and structure of the college, class lists, and speeches made at various commencements up to 1811. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, in an article in Bengal Past and Present, Vol. LXVII, 1948, has discussed the relation of the college at Fort William to the development of historical, linguistic, and geographical studies in Bengal as a result of the employment of pandits on the staff and of giving prizes for historical and geographical works in Bengali. On Haileybury there is a good deal, since it was in existence for a much longer

81 period. Monier-Williams and others, Memorials of Old Haileybury, is an "old boy" salute which contains important anecdotal materials as well as a list of the graduates and brief biographies of the faculty. The faculty at Haileybury was a distinguished one: T. R. Malthus, W. Empson, Sir James Mackintosh, H. H. Wilson, Charles Wilkins, and Sir James Stephens, among others, were associated with the college, and its faculty was in the forefront of the intellectual developments of the period. The careers of the leading members of the faculty can be traced in the Dictionary of National Biography.

82 Haileybury provided a common background for the civil servants and gave them strong bonds to one another for a period of fifty years. The best brief account of Haileybury—its curriculum and its effects—is in H. Morse Stephens (of the ubiquitous Stephens family), "An Account of the East India College at Haileybury", in Abbott Lawrence Lowell, Colonial Civil Service. The majority of the civil servants passed through Haileybury. All were exposed to the same teachings, acquired similar sets of values, and became part of a peer group—their fellow students, with whom they would work throughout their lives. Some idea of what Haileybury was like can be gotten from some of the memoirs of officials, particularly from the relevant sections in George Campbell's Memoirs and in H. G. Keene, A Servant of John Company. Not only was Keene a student at Haileybury, but part of his boyhood was spent on the campus of the college, since his father was on the faculty. There are discussions of the benefits and demerits of Haileybury in the parliamentary investigations of the East India Company in 1832 and 1852 and there is able defence of Haileybury by T. R. Malthus in A Letter to the Rt. Honorable Lord Grenville, 1813, and in "Statements Respecting the East India College", The Pamphleteer, Vol. 9, 1817, pp. 470-522.

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92 The changes in the administrative system up to the time of Bentinck (Governor-General 1828-1835) are best traced in the writings and biographies of Elphinstone, Munro, Metcalfe and Malcolm. Their careers, as well as the careers of other important administrators, are covered in John

93 Kaye, Lives of Indian Officers, which Kaye, to some extent,
 94 wrote as inspirational literature for the administrators.
 95 G. R. Gleig, Life of Sir Thomas Munro; and A. J. Arbuthnot,
Sir Thomas Munro Selections from Minutes; contain many
 96 extracts from Munro's official and unofficial writings.
 97 Neither Bradshaw's Sir Thomas Munro in the 'Rulers of
 India' Series nor Krishnaswami's Tom Munro Sahib do
 justice to Munro's innovations and his fight for the Madras
 system of administration. Munro, as well as some other
 early nineteenth century administrators, felt that the Corn-
 wallis system was disastrous, because it excluded Indians
 from the administration and put too much emphasis on for-
 malities and not enough on the character and ability of
 individual officers. There is no recent biography of Munro.

98 Sir Charles Metcalfe's long, varied, and interesting career
 is well covered in a recent biography by Edward Thompson.
 99 Kaye's Life of Metcalfe and his Selections from Metcalfe's
official writings have many documents. Spear discusses
 100 Metcalfe's administration in Delhi in The Twilight of the
Mughals. The work of Mountstuart Elphinstone, who was
 responsible for the establishment of British administration
 throughout most of western India, is well covered in Ball-
 101 hatchet's Social Policy and Social Change in Western India.

Malcolm, the last of the famous quartet, was the *beau*
ideal of the service—irrepressible, a sportsman, and a man
 of charm, humour and great intelligence. There is no recent
 102 biography of him, but Kaye's Life and Correspondence of
 103 Sir John Malcolm and Malcolm's own writings, The Govern-
 104 ment of India, A Political History of India from 1784 to 1823
 105 and his masterful A Memoir of Central India convey his keen
 observations and his ideas about British Government in
 India.

The growing British dominion in India and the develop-
 ment of an administration to run the dominion were closely
 related to developments—political, social, and intellectual—
 in England itself, and changes in policy and practice in India
 were often made in response to changes originating with the
 Court of Directors, the Board of Control, or Parliament.
 The eighteenth century political background is well covered

in Lucy Sutherland's *East India Company in Eighteenth Century Politics*, which details the relationships between the Company, the Crown, and Parliament, and Parliament's attempts to control the East India Company through the Regulating Act of 1773. C. H. Philips, *The East India Company 1784-1834*, picks up, although not in so much detail, the relationship of Parliament to the Company for the period down to 1834. In addition Philips' work contains a wealth of information on the structure and functioning of the London end of the Company and on the internal politics and conflicting economic interests found within the Company and their effect on policy in India. Philips has set a standard in the presentation and analysis of data which unfortunately has rarely been equalled in the field of Indo-British history. Furber's *Dundas* is the biography of the man who was president of the Board of Control from 1784 to 1801 and who during this period was the most powerful single person in the East India Company. Henry Morris, *Life of Charles Grant*, contains much information on the Court of Directors and on one of the important figures of the time. Grant was one of the earliest exponents of a Christian-humanitarian approach to India, and his *Observation on the State of Society Among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain . . .*, originally written in 1792 but published in the Parliamentary Papers of 1831, was a work which foreshadowed a debate concerning direct intervention into Indian religion and life through administrative action. From Grant's time until Independence, there was an active Christian missionary group in England whose goals and policies for India were often at variance with the official English view.

Arthur Mayhew's *Christianity and the Government of India* traces the relationship at home and in India between the British government in India and Christian mission activity. He cites the major secondary studies. A recent work by Kenneth Ingham, *Reformers in India*, which draws mainly on missionary records, describes some of the things which missionaries until Bentinck's time tried to do and their influence on government policy. Stokes briefly suggests

some of the evangelical influences on the administration, but a systematic evaluation and description of this important influence on India has not been attempted.

Except for Philips' work, there are no full studies of the East India Company in London. Sir William Foster has written a brief account of the India Board in *John Company*, pp. 246-276. He describes some of the leading personages who worked for the East India Company and the nature of their work in "Mr. Lamb, of the Accounts Office", "The Examiner's Department", and "The Staff in the Nineteenth Century", in *The East India House*. In John Stuart Mill's autobiography there is a description of the work he did at the East India House. On formal organization, Foster's *Guide to the India Office Records* contains a good deal.

The social and intellectual effects of the British rule on the British have been dealt with by a few authors. J. Holtzman, *The Nabobs in England*, is a study of those English who made huge fortunes in India in the eighteenth century and returned to England to set themselves up as landed gentry and take an active part in the political life of the country. Spear, *The Nabobs*, has a chapter on the influences on late eighteenth century English society of the *huuka*, the daily bath, and other borrowed Indian traits. Marie E. de Meester, *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Nineteenth Century*, and Robert Sencourt, *India in English Literature*, cover Indian influences on English literature. The effects on the English language are discussed in Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson—A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases*,...and Subbarao, *The Influences of the Indian Languages on English*.

Bentinck's governor-generalship (1828-1835) is rightly looked upon as the beginning of a new era in the British administration of India; in Bentinck's reforms and innovations many forces which had been working since the end of the eighteenth century combined to put the administration of India on the road to being a direct and conscious innovator in the life of India, rather than being merely (as in the previous conception of the administration) a regulating, tax-collecting, and conserving force. There is no good published

112 study of Bentinck's governor-generalship, although several
 113 scholars in England are working on such studies. There is
 104 a brief life of Bentinck by Boulger in the 'Rulers of India'
 115 series. Stokes' *English Utilitarians and India* brilliantly
 116 covers the influence of utilitarian philosophy on administra-
 117 tive reforms in India under Bentinck and in the period imme-
 118 diately following him. Earlier discussions of Bentinck
 and utilitarianism are found in Spear, "Bentinck and Educa-
 tion", *Cambridge Historical Journal*, Vol. VI, 1938, and
 "Lord William Bentinck", *Journal of Indian History*, XIX,
 1940; Ballhatchet, "The Home Government and Bentinck's
 Educational Policy", *Cambridge Historical Journal*, Vol X,
 1951; and George Bierce, "Lord William Bentinck : The
 Application of Liberalism to India", *Journal of Modern
 History*, XXVIII, September, 1956.

119 There is a considerable literature on what is termed
 120 "social reform"—i.e., the abolition of *sati*, the suppression
 of female infanticide, the abolition of slavery, and the elimi-
 nation of *thagi*—which will be discussed later. Similarly,
 the legal reforms introduced under Bentinck and his succes-
 sors will be discussed topically. Bentinck's name is also
 associated with the reintroduction of Indians into responsible
 positions in the administration, with the creation of the post
 of deputy collector and the upgrading in pay and status of
 the judicial officers, *amins* and *sadr amins*, to the point where
 these officers adjudicated most of the litigation at the dis-
 trict level. Unfortunately, none of the studies of the
 administration deals extensively with the Indians who began
 to join the service at this point or those who were found in
 the service before this. Ghosal's *Indian Administration*
Under the East India Company and Misra's *Central Adminis-*
tration discuss the formal arrangements affecting lower civil
 servants and the formal requirements of recruitment, but
 there is no sociological study of this important aspect of the
 administration. R. N. Nagar has dealt with revenue officials
 in the North Western Provinces during this period in a
 series of brief articles : "The Subordinate Services in the
 Revenue Administration of the North Western Provinces,
 1801-1833", *Journal of the United Provinces Historical*

Society, Vol. XV, Part 2; "The Kanungo in the N.W. P.", *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XVIII, 1942; "The Tahsildar in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces 1801-1833", *Uttar Pradesh Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II (N. S.), Part I, 1954; and "Employment of Indians in the Revenue Administration of the N. W. P., 1801-1833", *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. XIII, December, 1940. / R. B. Ramsbotham discusses the kanungo in Bengal in an article in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. III, Pt. 2, 1924, p. 205 and following. There is an account of the recruitment of Indians into the lower civil service in Benares at the beginning of British rule and the effects which British rule had on the Benares region, by Bernard S. Cohn in the August, 1960, issue of the *Journal of Asian Studies*.

V. THE FUNCTIONING OF THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION TO 1857

MOST of the works which have been discussed thus far deal with the structure and theory of the administration and do not provide much insight into the actual functioning of the system. By and large English writers, either members of the service or observers of the service, had a highly favourable view of the administration. The dominant tone of a writer such as Sir John Kaye is one of restrained self-congratulation and admiration. As the Victorian period continued in England, this attitude turned to one of smugness and progressive estrangement, not from India generally, but from middle class educated Indians. An interesting study could be made of the developing English attitude, which reached its peak in the last decades of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century. In this view, educated Indians—typically the Bengali Babus—were devious, spineless, corrupt, and scheming, while the peasants—particularly those with a warrior tradition, such as Rajputs, Pathans, and Sikhs—were fine fellows, and needed to be protected from the Babus.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, there has been a minor tradition in writing on the British

in India. Some writers did not see the British administration as bringing law, order, and progress to the Indian masses, but saw in the effects of the British administration the seeds of the destruction of Indian society. In their view, the scheming, corruption, and cunning were the results of the British administration rather than the expression of some underlying character trait.

127 The most telling criticism of the British administration is found in F. J. Shore's Notes on Indian Affairs. This is a series of interrelated brief articles which originally appeared in an Anglo-Indian newspaper; it is a thoroughgoing analysis and condemnation of British administration, particularly judicial administration. Shore was something of an eccentric. His father had been Governor-General (Sir John Shore). F. J. Shore had a long career as a judge in Upper India. Evidently the regulation forbidding the wearing of Indian clothes by Englishmen during office hours was aimed at Shore.

128 Panchkouree Khan, Revelations of an Orderly, was apparently written by George Wyatt, an Anglo-Indian uncovenanted servant, who served from 1841 to 1852 in Benares district as deputy collector and deputy magistrate. This work is an expose of the corruption of Indian officials at the district level, from head clerks down to peons, and a delineation of the stupidity of British officials and their regulations. A more balanced yet not overly favourable view of the revenue administration in Upper India is found in Charles Raikes, Notes on the Northwestern Provinces.

129 A real insight into the functioning of the administration and the life of administrators can be found in some of the unofficial and semi-official guidebooks for officers which were produced in the early nineteenth century. The best is Captain Thomas Williamson's East India Vade Mecum: or Complete Guide to Gentlemen Intended for the Civil, Military or Naval Service, printed in London in 1810. Williamson discusses what type of kit to bring to India, how to hire servants, how to select a mistress, the importance of letters of introduction, the best ways to stay out of debt, and how to learn the language, as well as more formal aspects

of the new Company's servant's job. Alexander Fraser Tytler, *Considerations on the Present Political State of India... A Manual of Instruction in Their Duties for the Younger Servants of the Company*, published in 1815, gives more on the peoples and institutions of India and the specifics of the jobs which the civilians had to do. J.H. Stocqueler, *Handbook of India*, of 1844, is mainly concerned with travelling in India. By the middle of the nineteenth century, official guides and job outlines were being produced, especially for settlement officers and revenue officers; the most famous of these is James Thomason, *Directions for Revenue Officers in the Northwestern Provinces of the Bengal Presidency*.

The insularity and pomposity and the difficulties of the British in the *Moffusil* can be seen in some of the travel memoirs of the period. Reginald Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Provinces of India*, catches British society in India in transition from what it was in the late eighteenth century—essentially outposts—, to what it became in the middle of the nineteenth century—*islands of the Empire*. Heber, who was Bishop of Calcutta, wrote well and his account is a classic. Emma Roberts, *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindoostan*, territorially covers much of the same ground as Heber and is of similar high quality. Fanny Parke, an artist who travelled widely in India, has written a thoroughly charming account of her experiences in *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*. Emily Eden, sister of Lord Auckland (Governor-General 1836-1842), has left in her works, especially *Up the Country*, a biting and satirical view by an English aristocrat of what she perceived as the pretentiousness of the English community in India.

India and the British in India have provided material for novelists, from Thackeray to E. M. Forster. Thackeray's portrait of Joseph Sedley, the Collector of Bogleywalla in *Vanity Fair*, although a caricature, was drawn from Thackeray's extensive knowledge of Anglo-Indian society in India and in England; he came from an illustrious family that had long served in India. There has never been a more devastating portrait of the banality and viciousness of

English life in India and its effects on the deviant than William Delafield Arnold's *Oakfield : or Fellowship in the East*. Arnold, brother of Matthew Arnold, went to India as a subaltern in the cavalry in the late 1840's and then was assigned to the new civil administration in the Punjab: The novel is autobiographical. Charles D'Oly's *Tom Raw*, *The Griffen* and John Kaye's *Peregrine Pultony* are more gentle and humorous in their deflation of the pretensions of the British in India. Both of them are concerned with military men.

William Browne Hockley and Philip Meadows Taylor are perhaps the two most famous writers of the early nineteenth century who lived and worked in India throughout most of their lives. Most of their novels have Indians as the central characters. Hockley's *Pandurang Hari, or Memoirs of a Hindoo* presents a picture of a Maratha, but emphasizes what was perceived by the British to be the darker side of Hindu character. Taylor's most famous novel is *The Confessions of a Thug*, a presentation in the form of a novel of many of the reports of William Henry Sleeman on *thagi*. It illustrates a continuing strand in British writing on India, which emphasizes the bizarre, weird and horrifying. There are brief accounts of Anglo-Indian novels in Sencourt, *India in English Literature*; Susanne Howe, *Novels of Empire*, a comparative study of English, French, and Dutch novels, which is quite weak on the Indian side; and Chapter X of Volume XIV of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, which also contains a bibliography.

VI. THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STATE IN INDIA 1835-1914

BENTINCK'S governor-generalship was the turning point in the history of the British connection with India, even though in the traditional periodization of Indo-British history the year 1859, when the East India Company was finally abolished and the Crown took over direct responsibility for India, is selected as the crucial date. India from Bentinck's time until 1859 has much more in common with

the India of Ripon or Curzon than it does with the India of Warren Hastings or Wellesley. Except in the Punjab and the Northwest Frontier, the basic provincial administrative patterns were established. The change from appointment by patronage to open competition for the civil service was started in 1854. The abolishment of Haileybury in 1858 and the utilization of an Oxford or Cambridge education for the service were potentially great changes. Actually the old Haileybury spirit continued strongly until the end of the nineteenth century, since Haileybury people continued to hold the key positions in the Indian administration and the new "competition wallahs" learned the old values instead of imprinting new values on the service. The expansion of the range of government activities to encompass services such as railways, post and telegraph, forestry departments, census-taking, irrigation and public works, famine control, education, and medical services, had strong beginnings before the Company gave way to the Crown.

Discontentment under British rule—reinforced by the formation of an articulate Indian public opinion and a re-examination of Indian thought and culture by Indians—was a paramount problem in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, and increasingly absorbed the time of the British administration in the twentieth century. But these tendencies had begun much earlier; the Brahmo Samaj was founded in 1828, and there was agitation against missionary activities and against laws affecting the legal status of Hindus in 1850 and 1851.

(i) *THE VIEW FROM THE TOP*

138 Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1904, and in 1905, wrote a history of the governors-general and viceroys, *British Government in India*, which presents the history of the office from Hastings until 1912, when the capital was shifted from Calcutta to New Delhi. Curzon goes into the background of the men who were appointed and some of their activities. It is a well written and highly useful work.

139 C.B. Mersey's *Viceroy and Governors-General* is much too brief to be of value. He presents brief essays, usually

no more than two or three pages, on each of the men who have held the position. Brief biographical data, along with some bibliography, can be better obtained from the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Emily Eden's letters and diary provide a very lively inside account of the governor-generalship of Lord Auckland, her brother. There is a brief life of Lord Auckland by L. S. Trotter in the 'Rulers of India' Series. There is a good modern account of Ellenborough's time (1842-44) in India by Sir Algernon Law, as well as an older account by Lord Colchester published in 1874. There is a modern biography by A. Imloch.

140 Dalhousie and his administration (1848-56) are still cause for considerable discussion. Dalhousie was a man of strong beliefs and actions. His annexation of Oudh in 1856 and some of his other acts played a major role in the precipitation of the Indian War of Independence of 1857 (also known as Mutiny). M. N. Das, *Studies in the Economic and Social Development of Modern India: 1848-56*, is an examination of Dalhousie's policies in regard to railway construction, building of the electric telegraph, reform of the postal system, educational reform, and suppression of female infanticide and human sacrifice among the Khonds of Orissa. It has an excellent bibliography. Edwin Arnold, *The Marquis of Dalhousie's Administration of British India*, is the older standard work and Lee-Warner, *Life of Lord Dalhousie*, is the standard biography. 141 *The Duke of Argyll's India Under Dalhousie and Canning* covers much of the same ground as Arnold's work. 142 J. C. Baird has edited and published *The Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*. 143

Except for the work of the Duke of Argyll cited above and a brief biography by H. S. Cunningham, there is no extended work on the viceroyalty of the Earl of Canning (1856-1862). Not only did he have to watch over the suppression of the Indian War of Independence of 1857, but he was in the difficult position of having served under both the Company and the Crown. The letters of his successor, the Earl of Elgin, (1862-63), have been published and edited by Theodore Walrond.

John Lawrence was an exception to the rule that governors-general and viceroys knew little about India; he had a long and distinguished career as a civil servant, first in the Northwestern Provinces, and then in the Punjab. In the Punjab his name and his brother Henry's are closely associated with the settlement of the province after annexation. John Lawrence did not have the glamour or the following that his brother had, and he was more closely committed to adherence to the ways and values of the bureaucracy. There is an excellent study of his life by R. Bosworth Smith. Further bibliography can be found in Michael Edwardes, *The Necessary Hell*. The standard biography of Lord Mayo (1869-72) is by W. W. Hunter.

Lord Northbrook (1872-76) was in many ways typical of the viceroys of the period. He was the son of a baron, was educated at Oxford, and became an M.P. He held several undersecretaryships, including the undersecretaryship of India, and was later appointed viceroy. In general he had an uneventful time. His great strong point was finance and Curzon thinks he was the greatest financial mind which the viceroyship has had. Curzon describes his effect on the House of Lords in the following terms: "He was greatly respected but left no impression of power." This sums up his time in India as well. There is a book on Northbrook by B. Mallet: *Lord Northbrook: A Memoir*.

Lord Northbrook's successor, the Baron of Lytton, is closely associated with a disastrous frontier policy which involved the British in a series of fruitless campaigns in Afghanistan. Lytton was also an accomplished poet. Lytton's wife has left an account of her husband's time in India: Betty Lytton, *Indian Administration of Lord Lytton*. There is also a literary biography of Lytton by Aurelia Brooks Harlan.

Ripon has been described as an "honourable man taking steps and embarking on policies of whose abstract rectitude he was profoundly convinced, but which uniformly succeeded in arousing prolonged and embittered controversy." This was particularly true of his attempt to introduce local self-government and of the policy embodied in the Ilbert

144 bill, both of which were major steps forward in British
145 administration and both of which caused a tremendous
146 furore among the English in India. The agitation concern-
ing the Ilbert bill, which would have made the English in
India subject to Indian magistrates, more than any single
event in Victorian India prepared the way for the Nationalist
movement. W. S. Blunt's India Under Ripon is an inside
account. L. Wolf's Life of Lord Ripon is the standard bio-
graphy. S. Gopal, Ripon : An Indian Viceroyalty, is a recent
and excellent study of the four years of Ripon's adminis-
tration and contains further bibliography.

147 The period between Ripon and Lord Curzon (1884-
148 1899) can be followed in the Marchioness of Dufferin and
149 Ava, Our Viceregal Life in India, and in G.W. Forrest, The
150 Administration of Lord Lansdowne. Curzon's period was
a time of extreme activity. Curzon has published his own
account in Leaves from a Viceroy's Notebook, and there is
a good three-volume biography of Curzon by Ronaldshay.
Lovat Fraser's India Under Curzon and After is a high level
journalistic account of the time.

151 The Earl of Minto's very important five years (1905-
1910) are discussed by John Buchan in his Life of Lord Minto.
There are large extracts from Minto's correspondence in
India Under Morley and Minto. Baron Hardinge (1910-1916)
152 has published a brief account of his administration : My
Indian Years.

(ii) THE VIEW FROM THE MIDDLE

With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the
development of direct telegraph communication between
London and Calcutta, the top level of the Indian adminis-
tration in Calcutta and around the viceroy was more than
ever subject to direct control and check from London, and
something of a cleavage developed between the centre and
the civil servants who spent their careers in one province.
The lieutenant governor and his advisors and the depart-
ments which grew up in the provincial capitals tended to be
the focus of interest for administrators, so that provincial
history and provincial administration came back into their
own in the late Victorian period in India. Some men, such as

Sir Alfred Lyall, did have careers which encompassed both the central secretariat and important provincial posts, but Lyall was important largely because of his work as chief commissioner in Central India. Similarly, Henry Cotton is associated with the Assam and Frere with the Sind and Bombay. 53 C. E. Buckland's Bengal Under the Lieutenant Governors 1854-1898 is a model of a provincial administrative history, as well as being important for the whole political and intellectual history of the period. 54 Sir William Wilson Hunter's Bombay 1885-1890—A Study in Indian Administration is a good study of the working of the administration in Western India. 55 John Martineau, Sir Bartle Frere, and H.M. Durand, 56 Life of Sir Alfred Lyall, are good studies of the higher levels of the administrative system. 57 Henry Cotton, India and Home Memories, is important because Cotton held a consistently liberal view of Indian policy and was often at odds with the prevailing administrative philosophy. The biographical, autobiographical, and memoir literature is a good entree into both the life of the English in the late nineteenth century and the functioning of the administration.

Two semi-fictional works stand out in this period. G. F. Atkinson, "Curry and Rice", on Forty Plates; or The Ingredients of Social Life at "Our Station" in India, is a set of drawings of an up station in Northern India in the period after the Indian War of Independence of 1857 (also known as Mutiny), in which all the major types are dissected. Iltudus Prichard, Chronicles of Budgepore, is an amusing and highly insightful book which takes a good deal of the pretensions out of the Victorian Englishman in India. G. O. Trevelyan, The Competition Wallah, is written in the form of a series of twelve letters from a new civil servant who lands in India right after the Indian War of Independence (also known as Mutiny). It is an outstanding work.

The following is a brief listing of some of the better memoirs. A fuller list can be gotten from William Mathews, British Autobiographies.

Bengal

William Edwardes, Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian.

- 159 Graham, *Life in the Mofussil*.
 160 Arthur Lloyd Clay, *Leaves from a Diary in Lower Bengal*.
 161 R. Carstairs, *The Little World of an Indian District Officer*.
 162 William Taylor, *Thirty-Eight Years in India*.
 163 Surendranath Banerjea, *A Nation in Making*. Has an account of Banerjea's experiences as one of the early Indians in the I.C.S.
 164 S.N. Gupta, *Romesh Chandra Dutt*. Has some extracts from Dutt's letters from his period in the I.C.S.

Bombay

- 165 C.A. Kincaid, *Forty-four Years a Public Servant*.
 166 S.K. Ratcliffe, *William Wedderburn*.

Central India

- 167 S.C. Macpherson, *Memorials of Service in India*.

Madras

- 168 Alan Butterworth, *The Southlands of Siva*.
 169 W. O. Horne, *Work and Sport in the Old I.C.S.*
 170 Hutchinson, *An Indian Career*.

Punjab

- 171 G.R. Elsmie, *Thirty-Five Years in the Punjab*.
 172 George Campbell, *Memoirs of My Indian Career*.
 173 O'Dwyer, *India as I Knew It*.
 174 Penderel Moon, *Strangers in India*.

United Provinces

- 175 Roderick MacLeod, *Impressions*.
 176 William Wedderburn, *Allan Octavian Hume*.
 177 H. G. Keene, *A Servant of John Company*.
 178 C. Raikes, *Notes on the Northwestern Provinces*.

(iii) THE VIEW FROM THE BOTTOM

There is not readily available in English much which conveys specifically the Indian view of the British in India in

179 the nineteenth century and their feelings about the British administration. Some can be gleaned from biographies and autobiographies such as Banerjea's or Dutt's. Govindji Gopalji Desai, *Some Experiences of a Mamlatdar Magistrate's Life*, conveys some of the feelings of a lower civil servant. Sita Ram, *From Sepoy to Subadah*, translated by Norgate and Phillott, is the life of a sepoy from Oudh who spent over thirty years in the Company's army. It deals with the changes in the army which were crucial in bringing about the revolt of the Bengal army in 1857. It contains much of great interest on the British military and civilian administration and is one of the few things available which gives the view of a relatively low status person. Behramji Malabari, *Gujarat and the Gujaratis*, is a brilliant picture of many aspects of life in Gujarat at the end of the nineteenth century. It gives a telling picture of the functioning of the courts at the time. Bholanauth Chunder, *The Travels of a Hindu*, (two volumes), is a discursive account of a series of trips made by the author through Bengal and Upper India in the 1860's and contains a good deal of interesting material.

VII. THE ADMINISTRATION : LONDON AND IMPERIAL POLICY

AFTER 1840 the tendency in England and to a lesser extent in India was to view events and policies almost as something apart from general developments in Great Britain. Writers on India in the twentieth century continually complain that there is little interest in serious works on India among the general British public. Interest in India appears to have been limited to returned civil and military servants and to those few in government and politics who were directly concerned with India. Books were and are written about the Empire and the Commonwealth which barely mention India, but which tend to concentrate on the "White" colonies. The standard work on nineteenth century historical writing in England, G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, barely mentions research and writing done by the English on India, except for a passing reference to J. S. Mill. At the same time, there apparently

was hardly a middle or upper class English family that did not have some member connected with the civil or military administration in India. A tour of service in India was looked upon as part of a normal military career. Polo playing and frontier wars were part of growing up for the English ruling class of the late Victorian period and the Edwardian period, as can be seen from Winston Churchill's autobiography, *My Early Years*. Although there are excellent works on the relation of English politics to India and the East India Company in the eighteenth century, and good studies of the East India Company in London until 1834, there are no good works on political battles in England concerning India after this period, except for a brief study on the administration in London by Malcolm C. C. Seton : *The India Office*. Except as part of biographical studies of some of the governors-general or secretaries of state for India, the problems of the structure and functioning of the Council of India, and of the development of policy, are untouched. In Strachey's work, *India—Its Administration and Progress*, there is a brief account of the Home Government.

The only complete study of the policies and working of a secretary of state for India is A. West, *Sir Charles Wood's Administration of Indian Affairs from 1859-1866*. The Countess of Minto has edited the correspondence between Minto, when he was Governor-General, and Morley, the Secretary of State, in *India Under Minto and Morley*. Edwin Samuel Montagu, Secretary of State for India during the crucial period of 1917-1922, when Gandhi emerged as the leader of the Indian National Congress and Congress set its policy firmly for independence, has written an account of a trip to India at this time : *An Indian Diary*. There are important discussions of Indian affairs in the biography of Lord Randolph Churchill by his son Winston Churchill, in Lady Cecil's *Life of Lord Salisbury*, and in Andrew Lang's *Life and Letters of Sir Stafford Northcote*. There is much material on the London side of Indian affairs in the works previously noted and in works by the viceroys. A few retired civil servants went into Parliament and provided a

small but hard core of interest in Indian affairs. See, for example, Sir Henry Cotton, *Indian and Home Memories*.

There is an extensive literature on British imperial policy which treats India in relation to the general question of the development of colonial policies. Hugh E. Egerton, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy*, revised by A. P. Newton, has little on India in it, but it does have an extensive bibliography on colonial policy. Eric Walker's *The British Empire : Its Structure and Spirit* is a good brief introduction which includes India. C. E. Carrington, *The British Overseas*, is a large narrative tome with little analysis in it. Klaus E. Knorr, *British Colonial Theories 1570-1850*, is very useful for the period it covers. A. P. Thornton, *The Imperial Idea and Its Enemies*, is a good study of the politics of devolution of the Empire. John Strachey, Secretary of State for War under the Labour Government, has recently written *The End of Empire*, which covers the Labour Party's policies and its programme in the immediate post-war period. Strachey, a socialist, is caught between his long family tie with India and his admiration for some of the Empire builders, and his theoretical distaste for the Empire. Sir Reginald Coupland's *Report on the Constitutional Problem in India*, Part I, and his *India : A Restatement*, have good outlines of the legislation leading up to the constitution of 1935 and the whole problem of independence for India. There is no study of the relationship of India, Indians, and the administrative policies which evolved in India and in the rest of the British Empire. Hugh Tinker in a brief article, "1857 and 1957 : The Mutiny and Modern India", *International Affairs*, Vol. 34, 1958, has suggested that the antagonisms between British and Indians in India after the Indian War of Independence overshadowed the substantial co-operation between the two peoples in the building of the Empire, especially in East and Central Africa and in Southeast Asia, because in these areas a real partnership, both administrative and commercial, developed between the two peoples. There is no systematic study, from the English end, of the decision to grant India independence; all the literature covers it from the point of view of the rise of nationalism in India. There is

no full study of the Indian efforts in London to influence British public opinion and Parliamentary action. Nor is there any study of the Labour Party's policies in the twenties and thirties and their effects on Indian independence.

VIII. THE ADMINISTRATION : LAW MAKING AND LAW ENFORCING

THE appointment of Macaulay as the Law Member of the Governor-General's Council and the establishment of the First Law Commission in 1834 were the culmination of twenty years' inquiry and concern with the legal system in India as established by Hastings and modified by Cornwallis. The principal indication to interested groups in London of the failure of the legal system was the continuing growth of a backlog of cases at all levels of the judicial system. In some points it took at least seven years before a case could reach the Sadr Diwani Adalat. But in addition to the delay in receiving justice, other problems of the system had also become apparent : the over-technicality of the Land Revenue Regulations, the prevalence of the use of perjury and false evidence, the vagueness of the Hindu and Muslim law, the strangeness of the procedure of the courts for the litigants, the lack of training of the judges, the use of an alien language in the courts, the susceptibility to bribery of the lower court officials, the high cost of litigation, the furthering of litigation by lawyers and other interested parties, the failure of the Muslim criminal law to recognize certain crimes, and the distance of the courts from the litigants. The British were never able to solve the bulk of these faults of the legal system, and each reform which was brought in over the next one hundred years tended only to exacerbate the situation. Higher court fees were charged in an effort to cut down on the number of cases. This only made it easier for the rich to go to court at the expense of the poor. Through the use of translations and later through the publication of decisions, the British attempted to establish precedents for Hindu and Muslim law. This led to a further dependence on technicalities in judging disputes. Vernaculars and English were substituted for Persian, but still the

judge often did not understand the local dialect of the litigants. Increasingly in the nineteenth century much of the legal argument, even in the district courts, took place in English, since the lawyers tended more and more to have English-style education. Attempts to institute systems of panchayats (local councils) for adjudication failed, since they often reflected the interests of the most powerful local landed interests, and led to bribery. Perjury and false evidence were not eliminated, no matter how stiff the penalties for them were, because no social stigma was attached to these crimes. Often the judge, lacking a real understanding of the society and culture from which the witnesses and litigants came, was in no position to evaluate the evidence. Often the law itself, by putting stress on certain technical requirements in the pleadings and bringing of a case, encouraged bringing of false cases and fabrication of evidence.

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There is an extensive literature on the theory of the Indian judicial system and its historical development in terms of the various acts and regulations which contributed to its development; there are a wide range of textbooks and published reports of the high courts, which are the bases of lawyers' and judges' arguments. The three standard histories of the legal system are B.S. Sinha, *The Legal History of India*; M.P. Jain, *Outlines of Indian Legal History*; and George C. Rankin, *Background to Indian Law*. All three are good in covering the formal history and discussing the major attempts at reform. Rankin is more heavily weighted to the late nineteenth century developments. The Jain work is a little more detailed and somewhat better than the Sinha.

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Warren Hastings was the first Englishman holding a high administrative post who fully realized the vital importance of a knowledge of Persian and Sanskrit for the study of law. He encouraged English judges to learn these languages and tried to get Indian scholars to collect and edit legal texts. Nathan Halhed, with Hastings' encouragement, published the first work in English on Hindu law: *A Code of Gentoo Laws on Ordinations of the Pandits, from a Persian Translation, 1776*. As the title suggests, it was based on

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Persian translations from compilations made by pandits; it was unsatisfactory as a guide for English judges.

Sir William Jones (1746-1794), judge of the Supreme Court in Calcutta from 1783 to 1794, was a Persian and Arabic scholar before he arrived in India; he, more than any other person, was responsible for the development of a tradition of Sanskrit and legal scholarship among the English officials in India. Along with his own considerable work in translating Sanskrit drama and poetry, his establishment of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal gave institutional support to Indic studies. There is a good body of material on Jones. A. J. Arberry's brief book Asiatic Jones, is a good introduction. There are also brief biographical sketches of Jones in The Proceedings of the Sir William Jones' Bicentenary Conference at Oxford and in the Sir William Jones' Bicentenary Volume, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), a friend and contemporary of Jones, wrote a Memoir of Jones and edited Jones' Works, in six volumes. There is an excellent annotated bibliography by G. H. Cannon : Sir William Jones, Orientalist : An Annotated Bibliography.

Sir Edward Colebrooke carried on from Halhed, but worked directly from Sanskrit, instead of having the pandits' collections first translated into Persian, as Halhed had. His Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Succession was the real starting point of the systematic study of Hindu law by Europeans. His scholarship covered the fields of Hindu philosophy and religion, as well as law. His son, E. T. Colebrooke, edited his father's essays and provided a memoir and an edition of some of his letters. Sir Edward Colebrooke and others felt that by translating and editing they could arrive at a reasonable idea of what Hindu law was, and could thus fix it and establish precedents by which European judges could give judgements.

In Western India, legal scholars took a somewhat different tack and tried to set down what they found to be the customs of the region as well as what the pandits had decided or set forth as the law. Arthur Steele, an early official in Gujarat and Bombay, wrote a Summary of the Law and

Custom of Hindoo Castes Within the Deccan, originally published in 1827 and republished in 1868. His goal was "to compile a consistent code from the mass of written law and from fragments of tradition in practice." Somewhat later Borradaile and Bellasis began to collect and publish the decisions of the Bombay Sadr Diwani Adalat as a means of establishing precedent in Hindu law.

192 W. H. Macnaghten, a judge of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, brought out his Principles and Precedents of Hindu Law in 1829: this was another effort at fixing the law and giving certainty to substantive law. He felt that most civil judges in India were too busy to acquire a knowledge of the laws which they were bound to administer, and that the best method of solving "judicial doubts" was to resort to decisions already passed. Macnaghten thought that the fixing of doubtful points of law was the important thing, and that the method by which it was done was secondary. He wrote:

It matters little, for instance, to the community at large, whether a father shall be held to have the right of conferring his ancestral real property on one son, to the exclusion of the rest; but it is of the highest importance to every member of the community, that the rights and privileges of each should, as far as practicable, be defined and established.

193 Macnaghten's text on Hindu law was followed by others, throughout the nineteenth century. The most famous of these are Mulla's Principles of Hindu Law, which has gone through at least nine editions, and J.D. Mayne's A Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage. 194 195 Wilton's Introduction to the Study of Anglo-Mohammedan Law is the standard work on Muslim law in India as administered by the British.

196 Julius Jolly, Hindu Law and Custom, is a good brief introduction to the complexities of Hindu law. 197 P.V. Kane's monumental book, The History of the Dharmashastras, stands alone in recent work on Hindu law. It not only deals with the traditional Sanskrit texts, but also discusses the cases under the British courts which defined and regulated Hindu law in the last two centuries. It is the major work in

the field of Hindu law. A brief but very important work of Kane, Hindu Custom and Modern Law, is a preliminary discussion of a very important topic—how British legal practice and theory intentionally and unintentionally changed Indian society. Kane discusses such things as the effect on family structure of the interpretations which the courts put on some aspects of customary law. Sripati Roy's Customs and Customary Law in British India is an earlier discussion of this topic. In the Punjab, the British sought by using customary law as the basis of adjudication from the beginning of their administration there to avoid some of the difficulties which they had run into elsewhere in India. Each district was to have its customary law reduced to writing in a handbook which was to provide the judges and commissioners with a guide to the law of the local area. There are no good studies of the success of this approach to Indian law. J.D.M. Derrett has ably reviewed the attempts to reform Hindu law and legally to change many customs in India in his Hindu Law, Past and Present.

William H. Morley, Administration of Justice in British India, published in 1858, is still the best work on judicial administration under the East India Company. Morley discussed the structure of the courts and how their structure changed from Hastings' time until the end of the Company's rule, the substantive law, and the malfunctioning of the judicial system. He has a suggestive chapter on the problem of establishing precedent in Indian law, and cites all the works written before 1858 on the topic, including published decisions. Herbert Cowell, The History and Constitution of Courts and Legislative Authorities in India, originally given as the Tagore Law Lectures in 1872, but revised until the beginning of the twentieth century, continues Morley's account to that date. Trevelyan's History of the Courts of India is another useful treatment. The latest edition of Ilbert, The Government of India, brings the history of the courts down to the 1920's. With the establishment of the High Courts in 1861 and the beginning of regular publication of the decisions of the High Courts, case law became the dominant basis of decision for the courts in India. The

reports of the High Courts are widely available in this country and are the source for the study of Indian law after 1861. The reports also provide important material for the study of the changes in Indian society brought about by judicial action.

With the establishment of the First Indian Law Commission, there was a widespread effort to codify the laws of India. This effort was aimed particularly at criminal law. The beginnings of this movement can be followed in S.V. Desika Char, "The First Indian Law Commission", *Indian Archives*, Vol. 7, p. 48; Stokes, *English Utilitarians and India*; Macaulay, *Complete Works*, particularly Vol. XI; and Macaulay's *Legislative Minutes*, ed. by C. H. Dharkar. Sir William Stokes, *The Anglo-Indian Codes*, two volumes; and Bijay Kisor Acharyya, *Codification in British India*; bring the discussion up to the twentieth century. An interesting discussion of the working of the new codified law is found in Leslie Stephen, *The Life of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen*. Sir James Fitzjames Stephen was Law Member of the Viceroy's Council from 1869 to 1872.

C. H. Alexandrowicz has recently published *A Bibliography of Indian Law*, which contains a full listing on all subjects connected with Indian law and legal history.

The detection, investigation, and prosecution of criminals has always presented the Government of India with great difficulties. Even the definition of "crime" was a ticklish problem. The initial British decision was to accept the already existing system of criminal justice, which was based on Koranic law as administered by the Mughals and their successors. The British quickly found themselves in difficulties, however, since there were acts which the British thought of as criminal which were not recognized as such under Koranic law. In 1809, for example, there was a Hindu-Muslim riot in Benares. When the British came to punish those who had been arrested as instigators of the riot, they found that there was no crime with which the Muslims could be charged; under Koranic law the killing of an infidel in defence of the true religion was not a crime. In this case, they decided to suspend the existing law. A

regulation was issued declaring killing under these circumstances to be murder. Similarly, where there were punishments permissible under Koranic law which violated British sensibilities—for example the cutting off of a hand—, these provisions were changed. It must be realized, though, that the British in India in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century thought that, by and large, Koranic law was more humane than the criminal law of England at that time, with over 200 crimes punishable by death, and other extremely harsh punishments.

Certain crimes—*dacoity* (mass robbery), *thagi* (a species of highway robbery and murder which had some ritual aspects), and female infanticide—stretched basic British conceptions of justice to the utmost and required the writing of regulations embodying legal concepts abhorrent to the British sense of justice. For example, in the suppression of *thagi* and female infanticide, the police did not have to prove in court actual commission of the crime in order to get a conviction, but only membership in a gang of *thags* or in a community which practised female infanticide. The British began to look upon certain crimes as communal crimes rather than individual acts. Since the early nineteenth century Indian police have been looked upon with dread by the bulk of the population; they have generally and not too incorrectly been viewed as a group of extortionists and torturers. Until very recently, the appearance of a "red turban" in a village was the signal for low caste people to take to the fields and jungles to hide from the police. The problems and practices of the police have been well described for the twentieth century in Sir Cecil Walsh, *Crime in India* and *Indian Village Crimes*; S.M. Edwardes, *Crime in India*; and J. C. Curry, *The Indian Police*. The best picture of the functioning of the police may be found in Philip Woodruff's novel, *Call the Next Witness*.

Like the writing on administration, most of the writing on the administration of justice is long on the formal aspects of the system and short on the actual functioning of the system. The memoir and autobiographical literature is

213 the only good source for the functioning of the administration of justice. Govindji Gopalji Desai, *Some Experiences of a Mamlatdar-Magistrate's Life*, although it was written in protest against what the author felt was an unfair dismissal, describes in detail the problems of a lower level Indian magistrate in Gujarat and Bombay in the last decades of the nineteenth century. 214 Francis Lascelles, *Reminiscences of an Indian Judge*, describes the problems of the district judge from the British standpoint in the period after the Indian War of Independence of 1857 (also known as Mutiny). 215 R. Carstairs, *The Little World of an Indian District Officer*, has material on judicial administration scattered through it and is an outstanding work; it relates to Bengal. 216 Penderel Moon's *Strangers in India* describes the working of justice in the Punjab on the eve of the Second World War. Satirical views of British judges can be found in Atkinson's "*Curry and Rice*", on *Forty Plates* and Iltudus Prichard's *The Chronicles of Budgetpore*; the latter has rightly been described as the best satirical work on the British in India extant. The lives of English lawyers in the presidency towns are described in Emery James Churcher, *Some Reminiscences*; F. J. De Verteuil, *Fifty Wasted Years*; and John Digby Gordon, *Work and Play in India and Kashmir*.

217 One of the greatest gaps in our knowledge of the history of the last two hundred years concerns the Indian legal profession. There is a brief account of the beginnings of the Indian legal profession in M.P. Jain, *Outlines of Indian Legal History*, pp. 185-189, but it is largely a summary of the regulations enacted by Cornwallis governing the profession. 18 *The Report of the All India Bar Committee of 1953* (Ministry of Law), has some historical material on the legal profession in it. 219 Chimanlal H. Setalvad, *Recollections and Reflections: An Autobiography*, has a great deal of valuable material on the bar, cases, legal education, and the functioning of the legal system in Bombay in the early years of the twentieth century. A thorough search of the memoir and autobiographical literature would probably turn up considerable material for a study of the legal profession.

The legal profession, from its inception under the Regulations of 1793, was of major importance in the growth of a new class structure in India. In the early nineteenth century it provided an important and lucrative profession for Indians, who were debarred from most high-level government jobs. After the establishment of western style colleges and universities in the middle of the nineteenth century, law became one of the favourite studies for Indians. It has only to be noted that a good part of the leadership of the Nationalist movement was in the hands of those who had been trained as lawyers or who had practised as lawyers.

IX. THE ADMINISTRATION : SOCIAL INTERVENTION

THE earliest social policy of the East India Company was the preservation of the status quo and non-intervention in the social and religious life of the people of India. The Company found itself in an anomalous position on occasion because of this policy. For example, it took over from the Mughals (who had in turn taken it over from their predecessors) the role of tax collector from pilgrims at many of the important Indian shrine centres, such as Gaya and Puri. Missionaries often objected to this, on the ground that it was an implicit sanction of what they perceived as "horrible superstitious practices". The same policy governed the official attitude to such things as *sati* (the immolation of a Hindu widow on the funeral pyre of her late husband), female infanticide, and human sacrifice. In the literature of the nineteenth century (see particularly the first volume of James Mill's *History of British India* and J. Peggs' *India's Cries to British Humanity*), these practices were exaggerated way out of proportion to their actual occurrence.

Under pressure from groups in London centered around the Clapham Sect, which was made up of such people as Zachary Macaulay (father of Thomas Macaulay), William Wilberforce, Charles Grant (an old civil servant and chairman of the Court of Directors in 1805, 1809, and 1815), and Sir John Shore (Governor-General of India from 1793 to 1798 and a member of the Board of Control from 1807 to

1828), the social policy of the Company changed to one in which it directly interfered in those aspects of Indian life which ran directly counter to English and Christian values.

Wilberforce's field of interest, of course, was much wider than India. He was in the forefront of the anti-slavery movement as well as many other humanitarian movements of his time. There is an excellent biography of him by Sir Reginald Coupland, in which reference will be found to the bulk of the writing by and about Wilberforce.

Henry Morris, *The Life of Charles Grant*, is useful. K. Ingham, *Reformers in India 1793-1833*, covers the missionaries' attempts to interfere in Indian life in the period before Lord William Bentinck and gives reference to materials on the battle waged in London for this end.

In Bengal in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, there was active hostility on the part of the Company to missionaries on the grounds that they were trouble makers and the reaction of the Indians to their proselytizing posed a threat to the stability of the Company's rule. There is an extensive literature on the mission movement in India, but thus far there is no thoroughgoing objective analysis of the structure of the missions, the sociology of conversion, or the effects of the missions, direct and indirect, on India. A good deal of the literature is inspirational, written by and for missionaries. Kenneth Scott Latourette's *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* has extensive bibliographic footnotes to this literature. Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India*; and M. A. Sherring, *History of Protestant Missions in India*; are the older standard works on the subject. Arthur Mayhew, *Christianity and the Government of India*, is a brief and able study covering the period until after the First World War.

There is an extensive body of literature on the Serampore missionaries, particularly Carey, Marshman, and Ward, who were the three major figures in the early mission movement in Bengal. S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey*, is a good biography; it not only covers Carey's effects on the mission movement but also discusses his work as Professor of Bengali

at Fort William College. J. C. Marshman, *Carey, Marshman and Ward*, is a good older work. There is no modern critical study of the effect on the development of the Bengali language and literature of the work of the Serampore missionaries in establishing the first printing press in Bengal and their encouragement of work in the Bengali language.

Hugh Pearson, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of the Rev. Christian Frederick Swartz*, (two volumes), covers the life of a pioneer missionary in South India.

Female infanticide was one of the earliest "evils" which Company officials tried to stamp out. As early as 1790, Jonathan Duncan, British resident in Benares, was attempting to get Rajput lineages to sign undertakings that they would not destroy their female children. Infanticide seems to have been restricted mainly to some Rajput clans in Upper and Western India, but Ahirs, Gujars, and some other groups also practised it. Its basis lay in several factors—the cost of marrying a daughter, the inferior social position in which giving daughters placed the family, and the loss of status which could occur if a Rajput family did not make a proper marriage for their daughter. Edward Moor's *Hindu Infanticide* is one of the earliest works on the subject, but it is largely restricted to Duncan's efforts in trying to eliminate the practice in Gujarat. Jonathan Duncan was Governor of Bombay after his residentship in Benares. John Wilson, *History of Suppression of Infanticide in Western India*, continues the account until the middle of the nineteenth century. Infanticide in Upper India can be studied in the *Selections from the Records of the Government of the North-west Provinces*, which contains most of the important reports and minutes on the problem.

Sati was the most spectacular "social evil" which the Company attacked and was an issue which generated a good deal of discussion in early nineteenth century Calcutta. Edward Thompson's *Suttee* covers the literature well and makes reference to published materials. Thompson argues that *sati* was not a widespread phenomenon.

E. Thornton, *Illustration of the History and Practices of the Thugs*, is the older standard work on *thagi*. There

are some accounts of *thagi* and the campaign to eliminate it in W.H. Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*. Colonel Sleeman was the man most responsible for the suppression of *thagi*. There is a good deal on *thags* in *Ramaseena : or a Vocabulary of the Peculiar Language used by the Thugs*. *Thagi* and *thags* have been the theme of a number of novels concerning India, from Meadows Taylor's *Confessions of a Thug* to John Master's *The Deceivers*. A recent popular account of the *thags* and the campaign to suppress them is A.J. Wightman, *No Friend for Travellers*.

Although in general works on the British in India much is made of the few examples of direct social intervention in Indian life, it has been suggested throughout this essay that the real effects of British rule on Indian society have been the unanticipated results of action which were not necessarily aimed at social reform or social change.

Famine has long been an important aspect of Indian life, and from the time of the Mughals there are good historic records regarding famines and their effects. In the modern world we are not used to thinking of famine as an agent of social change, but in seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth century India, famine was, along with warfare, one of the main factors which kept the Indian social system from becoming overly rigid. Famine, since it often led to movement of sub-castes and linguistic communities far from their homes, tended to break down local identifications. Horrible as famine was, it enabled agricultural workers temporarily to improve their positions, since it put a premium on their labour. A sociological analysis of famine in India has never been done, and it is one of those topics which badly needs research. At least for the latter part of the nineteenth century, materials are easily available in the *Famine Inquiry Commission Reports* of 1867, 1874, 1878, 1880-85, 1898, 1902 and 1945. These, particularly the reports of 1880-85, have a great wealth of material on the social and economic conditions of the time. Loveday, *History and Economics of Indian Famines*, is a good starting

point. W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, describes the Famine of 1772-73 in Bengal, its effect on the Bengal economy, and its relation to the decision to settle permanently the revenue of Bengal; it is still one of the outstanding works in the field. Kali Charan Ghosh, *Famines in Bengal*, discusses all the major famines from 1772 to 1943. The following contain first-hand accounts of late nineteenth century famines and British attempts to control them: William Digby, *The Famine Campaign in Southern India*; Shafton, *A Tour Through the Famine Districts of India*; and Nash, *The Great Famine and Its Causes*. There is a good deal in the memoir literature about famine and British policy and practices to control famine. Particularly worthwhile are parts of George Campbell, *Memoirs*; Machonochie, *Life in the Indian Civil Service*; and W.O. Horne, *Work and Sport in the Old I.C.S.*

By the twentieth century, due to the development of railways, the spread of irrigation facilities, the existence of a regular system of notification of famine conditions, and the establishment of a famine relief programme, large scale famine became a thing of the past, except for the tragedy in 1943, when, because of administrative ineptness, dislocation in the transportation system and the cutting-off of the supply of Burmese rice, Bengal was wracked by a devastating famine. T. K. Ghosh, *The Bengal Tragedy*, gives an Indian view of the famine. The official *Famine Inquiry Report* of 1945 is a monumental study which digs into the whole background of the famine and discusses the relation of such things as land tenure to the famine as well as its more direct causes. Bhawani Bhattacharya's *He Who Rides a Tiger* is a fictional account of the famine and illustrates how the social dislocation of a famine can be used by individuals; in this case, a low caste man passed as a holy man after the famine. The development of famine control policy is discussed in most of the standard works on late nineteenth and early twentieth century administration, by Strachey, Chesney and Chailley. The structure of the policies can be seen in the Famine Codes of Madras (1905), Bombay (1912), and the Punjab (1906).

The spread of irrigation facilities, especially in the Punjab, Western U.P., Bombay, and parts of South India, did much to free those areas from the fear of famine. For a while the increase in agricultural production provided a surplus to control famine elsewhere in India. D. G. Harris, *Irrigation in India*, is a technical discussion of the problem; Alfred Deakin's *Irrigated India* is an older and somewhat out-of-date discussion. P.W. Pautain, *Canal Irrigation in the Punjab*, is a good monographic study. The Parliamentary Papers for 1876 contain a collection of the major reports given to Parliament from 1856 to that date on irrigation. The *Reports of the Indian Irrigation Commission of 1901-1903* have a wealth of statistical material.

Karl Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism*, a study of the relation of irrigation to state formation in Asia, has some material on India, but the material is forced into analytic categories which do some injustice to the data. The general sociological and economic effects of irrigation are just beginning to be studied in India. Dr. Scarlet Trent of Manchester University has done an excellent study, not yet published, comparing irrigated and non-irrigated villages in Mysore. D. R. Gadgil, *Economic Effects of Irrigation*, is a recent monographic study of a small region in Western India. The discursive works of M.L. Darling on the Punjab have scattered through them interesting observations on the canal colonies in the Punjab.

The development of public health services in India and their relation to the Indian population have not been adequately studied. An older work by D. G. Crawford, *History of the Indian Medical Service*, is the standard historical treatment. John Megaw, "Medicine and Public Health", Chapter VI in E. A. H. Blunt, ed., *Social Service in India*, has a brief section on control of epidemics in India.

Kingsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan*, treats public health, famine control, and the development of transportation systems in relation to changes in the Indian population over the last seventy years. There has been relatively little specific discussion, except in the work of Davis and other demographers, of the effects on Indian

economy and society of the steady rise of population in the late nineteenth century and the twentieth century, and the relation of the population increase to British administration and policy.

X. ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION

THERE is an extensive literature on Indian education and the efforts of the British government to shape it. There are a number of general histories of education. The standard work and the one most easily available is Syed Nurrullah and J. P. Naik, *A History of Education in India During the British Period*; it has a good bibliography. Zellner, *Education in India*; and Mayhew, *The Education of India*, 1926; have historical sections, but are more critiques of the system as it existed at the time the books were written. Syed Mahmood, *A History of English Education in India*, is an earlier work. B. D. Basu, *History of Education in India Under the East India Company*, is a brief introduction to the earliest period of British education in India. Bruce T. McCully, *English Education and the Origin of Indian Nationalism*, is a major work; it documents the important relationship between education and the emergence of new classes. The footnotes and bibliography are extremely useful.

The decision to further English education at the expense of Oriental learning is usually dated at 1835, although in fact there was considerable regression from the position until Wood's Despatch of 1854. The history of the controversy is well covered in the *Cambridge History of India*. T. G. P. Spear, "Bentinck and Education", *Cambridge Historical Journal*, Vol. VI, 1938, is a full treatment. Ballhatchet disagrees with Spear in "The Home Government and Bentinck's Educational Policy," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, Vol. X, 1951. Stokes discusses the basis of the decision in his work on the Utilitarians. Stokes and Ballhatchet both stress the importance of C. E. Trevelyan and his work, *On The Education of The People of India*, in the controversy of the time. Spear gives a full listing of the publication of Macaulay's famous minute on education.

There is a considerable amount of published material on indigenous and vernacular education under the British. S.M. Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, a survey of the period from 1000 to 1800, covers both Hindu and Muslim education; it is somewhat superficial. The most quoted work on Indian education in the early nineteenth century is Adam's *Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar*, edited by J. Long. Adam, a missionary and newspaper man, was engaged in research from 1834 to 1838 on the nature and extent of indigenous education in Bengal on behalf of the Committee on Public Instruction in Calcutta. The reports contain a mine of information on who was educated and how. Stark, *Vernacular Education in Bengal from 1813-1912*, bases the earlier section of his work on Adams, but draws heavily on official sources and carries the description down to the early twentieth century. Other works include J. Kerr, *A Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency from 1835 to 1851* for Bengal; Thornton, *Memoir on the Statistics of Indigenous Education Within the Northwestern Provinces*, for the Northwestern Provinces; and Parulekar ed., *Survey of Indigenous Education in the Province of Bombay 1820-30*, for Bombay. Sykes, *Statistics of the Educational Institutions of the East India Company in India*, covers the period of the 1830's and 1840's. B. H. Hodgson's "Pre-eminence of the Vernaculars", in his collected essays, was influential in support of the vernacular education movement in post-1857 India.

The East India Company first supported higher education, by establishing the Madrassa in Calcutta, the Sanskrit College in Benares, and later the Sanskrit College in Poona. There is an article on the Madrassa in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. VIII, 1914; and a good book on the Sanskrit College : George Nicholls, *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshalla Sanskrit College*. Missionary efforts in higher education in Madras are covered in Manikam, *Missionary Collegiate Education in the Presidency of Madras*. Recently good accounts have been published about the University of Bombay and the University of Calcutta in honour of their centennial celebrations : *One Hundred Years*

of the University of Calcutta; and Dongerkerry, *A History of the University of Bombay 1857-1957*; both contain useful guides to the literature on higher education.

The *Parliamentary Papers* and the annual reports on the *Moral and Material Progress of India* contain statistical data as well as other important source materials. Stark and Richey ed., *Selections from the Educational Records of the Government of India*, makes available many of the important minutes and reports on education in India. There is a series in progress on *Selections from the Records of the Government of Bombay*.

XI. THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE DISCOVERY OF INDIA

THE earliest Europeans in India appear to have learned little about classical Indian civilization. Vasco da Gama and his followers apparently lived three months on the Malabar Coast without learning about the existence of Hinduism. The great travellers of the seventeenth century, such as Roe, Terry, Bernier, and Tavernier, reported mainly on Mughal India. By the eighteenth century, some of the missionaries, especially the Jesuit fathers, had learned Sanskrit and were making translations of Sanskrit works into European languages. It was not until the latter part of the eighteenth century, however, that the English, especially administrators and judges, began to learn Sanskrit and to recover the ancient civilization of India.

There is no extended treatment of the discovery of classical Indian civilization. The student must rely on fragmentary bits, especially the writings and memoirs of the men who were involved. There is a brief treatment in A. A. MacDonell, *India's Past*, pp. 236-249, which gives some of the leading names. H. G. Rawlinson, "Indian Influence on the West", in L. S. S. O'Malley, *Modern India and the West*, covers a much wider field and surveys the impact of the knowledge of India and Indian civilization on European literature. O'Malley also touches on some of the major figures. The best bibliographic source is Clements R.

Markham, *A Memoir on Indian Surveys*. Although it is devoted largely to the mapping and measurement of India, it has an interesting chapter on the Archaeological Survey of India (pp. 170-203), with copious notes.

Sir William Jones, the father of English Sanskrit studies, came to India in 1783 to be a judge of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, after an earlier career as a lawyer and linguist in England. In 1784 he founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and was president of the Society until his death in 1794. Jones was one of the first to point out the relationship of Sanskrit to European languages. He translated *Shakuntala* and parts of the Code of Manu into English. In the early nineteenth century, the Asiatic Society of Bengal was the centre of activity in the English undertaking to study Man and Nature in Asia; their interests included, among other things, history, geography, archaeology, meteorology, and linguistics. The literature on Sir William Jones has been discussed previously. The Asiatic Society of Bengal was successively guided by H. T. Colebrooke, W. W. Wilson, and James Prinsep. Their journal, *Asiatic Researches*, reflects the growing knowledge which they acquired.

James Prinsep is in many ways the most appealing of the early scholars. He came from a family which sent seven sons to India. His brother, H. T. Prinsep, an important Indian official, wrote a brief memoir of James Prinsep's life in Volume I of James Prinsep, *Essays on Indian Antiquities, Historic, Numismatic and Palaeographic*, 3 vols. (pp. ii-xvi). James Prinsep was sickly as a child. Although he did not get an appointment to the covenanted civil service, in 1819 he was employed as assistant assay master at the Calcutta mint under H. H. Wilson, another great scholar. In 1820 he went to Benares as assay master at the mint. While he was in Benares he not only studied Sanskrit, but also knew the life of the people well, as can be seen from his book of plates, *Benares Illustrated in a Series of Drawings*. Prinsep was largely responsible for the shaping of much of modern Benares. He was secretary to the Committee of Public Improvement, which preserved many of the ancient monuments, temples, and mosques of the city, planned the

first effective sewerage system, and drained many of the noisome tanks. He also laid out and for a time owned the principal grain market in the city. In 1829 he came back to Calcutta where he succeeded Wilson as both assay master and secretary of the Asiatic Society. It is from this period that his greatest achievements date—the deciphering of the Asokan inscriptions and the dating of the Buddhist relics in India.

For H. H. Wilson, unfortunately, there isn't even the brief biographical material that exists for the others; the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is about the best source. Wilson's range was phenomenal; his articles on Hindu sects have just been republished; he completed Mill's monumental history of British India; he wrote important articles on numismatics as well as a Sanskrit dictionary; he catalogued Colin Wilson's voluminous papers; and his *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, published in 1855, is still the most extensive and useful of such works. Wilson held an appointment as Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, was visitor at Haileybury, and was librarian of the India Office. While in Calcutta he was an important member of the Committee on Public Instruction. His departure in 1833, just before Macaulay's arrival, took the strongest advocate for Oriental learning out of the way of the Anglicists.

Map making, exploration, and the search for minerals, led to knowledge of Indian antiquities and Indian religion and society. James Rennell in the north and Colin Mackenzie in the south are the two most prominent early figures in Indian geography. Both started their careers as military officers, but as British possessions expanded in India in the last quarter of the 18th century, they turned to surveying and map making. The most readily available biographical material on these two men is in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Rennell published a brief memoir of his life. There are some notes on Mackenzie in H. H. Wilson's *Catalogue of The Mackenzie Collection*. Rennell is best known for his *Bengal Atlas*, which is still an important work, giving the shifting of the Ganges River; geographers and geologists still consult it as a basis for understanding

the present Ganges. Mackenzie, in addition to being a map maker, was an indefatigable observer and collector. He wrote descriptions of temples and a history of the Vijayanagar Empire. He is credited with bringing the Jain religion to the attention of Europeans. His collection of manuscripts and materials is still invaluable for the study of South Indian life and history; it includes a vast collection of copper and stone inscriptions of tenures, rock inscriptions, and coins. Francis Buchanan, later Hamilton, was employed by the East India Company to make a series of observations in the south and in Bengal and Bihar. He left a considerable amount of material, much of which has been published, on social and economic conditions.

The great architectural monuments and sculpture of India were early noted by many of the travellers. In the late eighteenth century, many artists, who went to India primarily to paint portraits, sketched and painted some of the great monuments in their travels. For a discussion of some of the artists, see Sir William Forster, "British Artists in India 1760-1840", *Walpole Society Magazine*, Vol. xix. James Fergusson was the first European systematically to study Indian architecture. His monumental study, *The History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, is still one of the bases of the study of Indian architecture. In 1862, after years of hit-and-miss activities, a Director of Archaeology was appointed, General Alexander Cunningham. His annual reports for the next twenty-three years still form the basis of much archaeological and art-historical work in India. It was under Cunningham that a systematic attempt was made to preserve India's antiquities, and the pleasure and insight into India that tourists, Indian and European, have today in visiting the great sites is the result of the work of Cunningham and his followers.

British officers were responsible for some of the major scholarship of the peoples of India : Cunningham on the Sikhs, Tod on Rajasthan, Grant Duff on the Marathas, Wilks on Mysore, and Forbes on Gujarat. It was because of these men and those noted above that Indians as well as Europeans learned about India in the last century; thus,

Jones, Colebrooke, Wilson, Mackenzie, and the others are important figures in Indian intellectual history. A knowledge of India's past, as revealed by Europeans through European methods of scholarship, played a major role in the Hindu revival of the latter part of the last century, and continues to play an important role in the building of an independent India.

XII. THE BRITISH IMPACT ON INDIA

THERE have been several notable attempts to evaluate and describe the effects of British rule in India. The best is a collective endeavour edited and guided by L. S. S. O' Malley: *Modern India and the West*. O'Malley contributed a long historical survey and evaluative chapter to this work, as well as more specialized sections. It contains sections on literature, education, the role of women, tribes, the social system, economics, transportation, philosophy, and the impact of India on the West. It fails in the final analysis because it does not come to grips with Indians; rather it is concerned with India. Even though the British contribution to modern India is marked with regard to the form of its government, its educational system, its political life and ideas, its economic life and organization, and even its face, as seen in its railways, architecture, and canals, an understanding of the British impact must be found in Indians themselves.

Other works, such as Sir Percival Griffiths, *The British Impact on India*, and H. G. Rawlinson, *British Contributions to India*, are not as successful as the O'Malley work. They are attempts to vindicate the British connection rather than to make a true evaluation of the effects of the British.

Attempts by Indians to make general surveys of the British impact have not been too successful either. The most famous general work, Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *A Cultural History of India During the British Period*, is a good solid job, but does not go much beyond a straight history of the British period. A. R. Desai, *The Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, is an attempt to describe and assess the changes in Indian social structure brought about by the

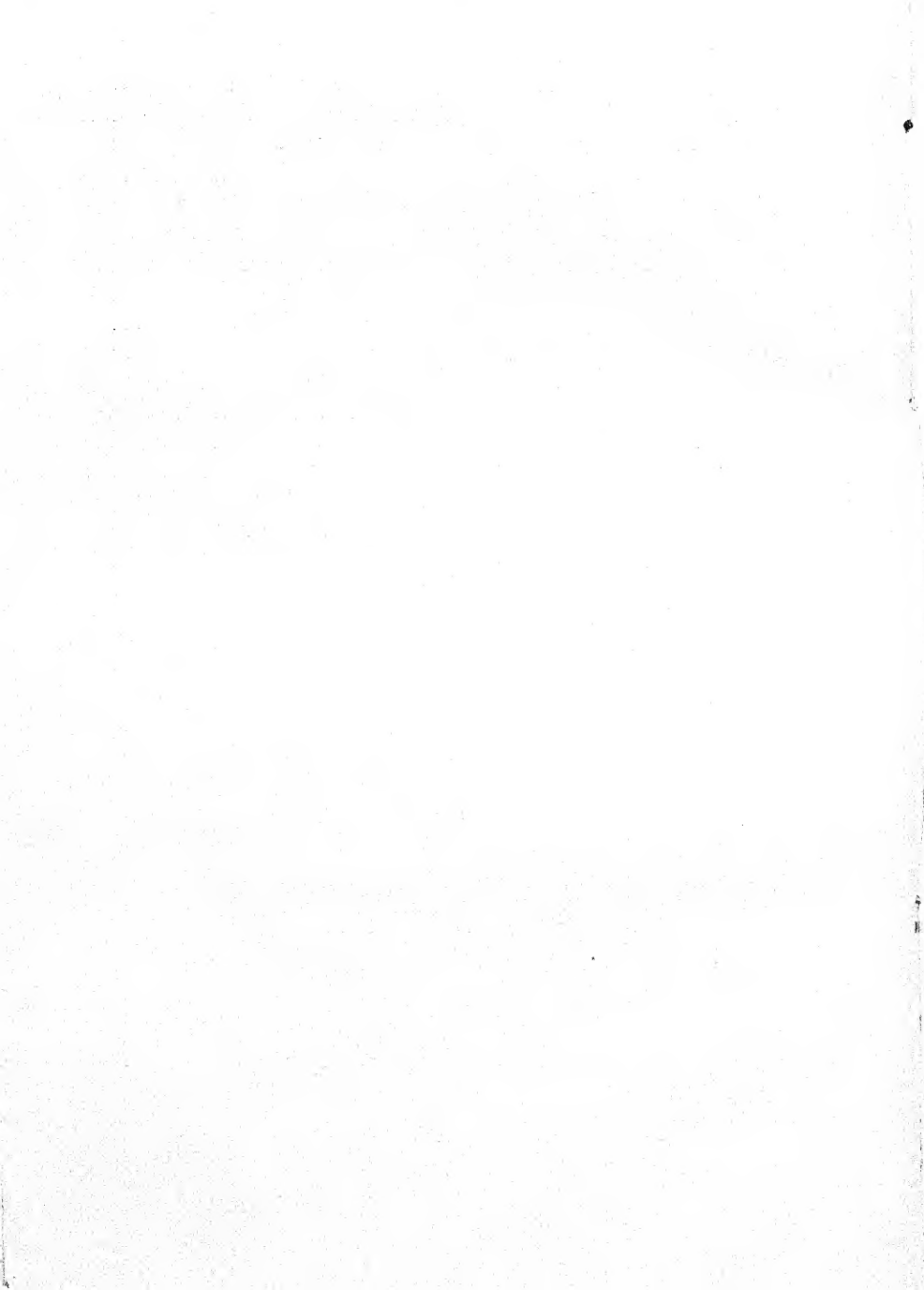
British. It is marred by an overdose of Marxist philosophy. B. B. Misra has in press a study of the rise of the middle class in India, which it is hoped will fill an important need. Jawaharlal Nehru's *Discovery of India* discusses the British connection with India in its later sections. On the whole, taking into account the fact that a good deal of it was written while Nehru was in a British jail for his Nationalist activities, it is remarkably balanced. Its importance, however, lies mainly in its author.

It is in autobiographies and fiction that the reader begins to approach an understanding of the impact of the British on Indians. Dorothy M. Spencer, *Indian Fiction in English*, has an excellent listing, not only of novels, but also of autobiographies in which the intellectual and social impact of the British may be traced. Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *Autobiography of an Unknown Indian*, is generally liked by Europeans but greatly disliked by Indians. It represents an extreme case of identification with England and English thought and life. Nehru's *Autobiography* and *Discovery of India* are products of a mind that some people consider the apex of the Indian-British blend. Gandhi, in whom some find the quintessence of India, discusses in his *Autobiography* the impact that Western ideas had on his thought.

Two good novelists, one Indian and one European, have written extensively on aspects of Indian life and the results of the impact of European ideas on India, as they are found in everyday social life. R. K. Narayan, a South Indian who did not visit the West until recently, has written a series of books on contemporary small town life, in which the stresses and strains of the changing society can be seen. Ruth P. Jhabvala, a Pole married to an Indian, has written several interesting novels about the upper class of Delhi; although Jhabvala's books do not pretend to be anything more than mild satires on a very limited class, they convey some of the feeling tone of what sociologists rather pompously call the "Westernized elite". A brief essay by Edward Shils, "The Culture of the Indian Intellectual", *The Sewanee Review*, April-July, 1959, is a fine description and analysis of the origin and content of the life of the intellectual.

As has been implied throughout this essay, there is no one British impact on India, and a general description and evaluation is almost impossible. There are many impacts and there are many Indias which were affected. Often the major changes which came in India were the result of unanticipated consequences of British action; often the results are clear and the processes obscure; often processes or policies which would be expected to have had the greatest impact had no apparent result. One thing is clear—a new civilization is emerging. It is related to the civilization which developed and changed over three thousand years of recorded history in the Indian subcontinent, but a very different one would have emerged if the British had not been the paramount political power for 150 years. The changes intentionally or unintentionally brought by the British are now part of the fabric of the emerging civilization.





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